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SEE P. 3 FOR WHAT YOU CAN DO

Belfrage deportation hearing is ordered

By James Aronson

FIFTEEN MONTHS after he was first arrested and held for a month on Ellis Island, Cedric Belfrage, GUARDIAN editor, was "advised" by the Immigration & Naturalization Service on July 28 to appear for a deportation hearing Aug. 10.

The government brought the case to a climax after failing in three attempts to revoke Belfrage's bail and keep him on Ellis Island. Belfrage has been functioning full-time as the GUARDIAN's editor since his release in $5,000 bail in June, 1953.

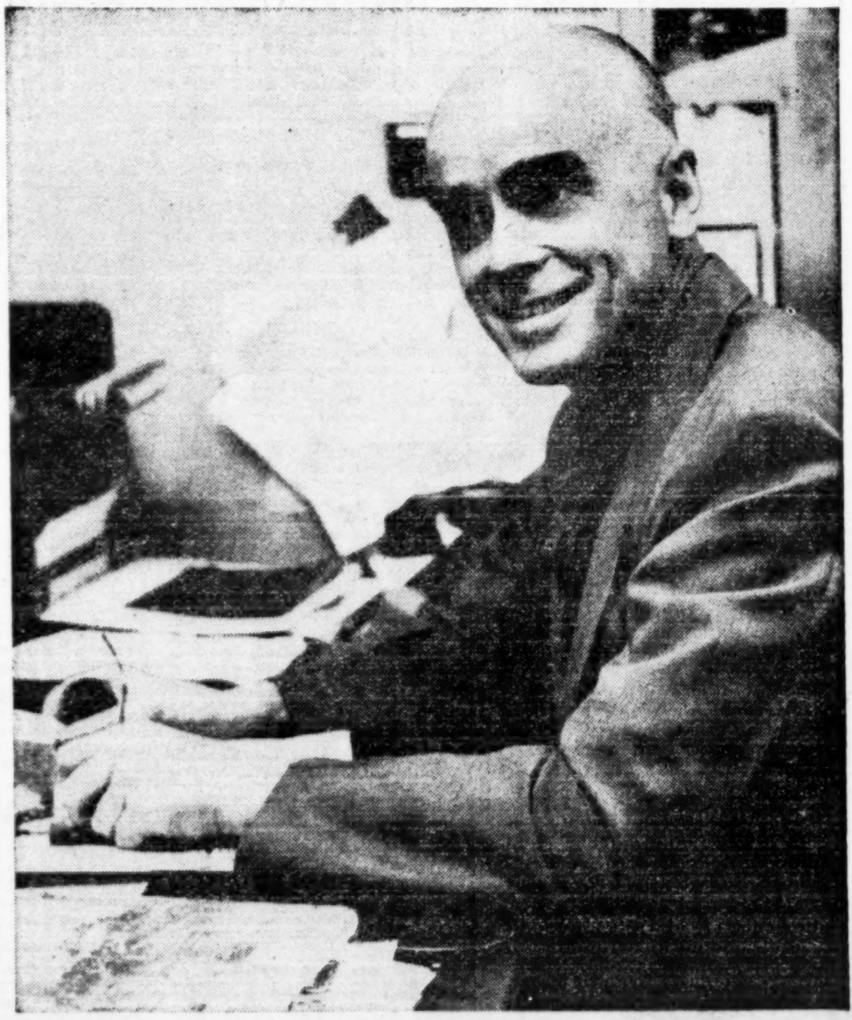
The government's letter said Belfrage must "show cause why you should not be deported from the U. S. in conformity with law." It charged him with being illegally in the U. S. under the McCarran Act and subject to deportation on the ground that he was

> ". . . after entry, an alien who was a member of or affiliated with the Communist Party of the U. S.; at the time of entry, an alien who was a member of or affiliated with an organization that advocates the overthrow by force or violence or other unconstitutional means of the Government of the U. S., to wit the Communist Party of the U. S."

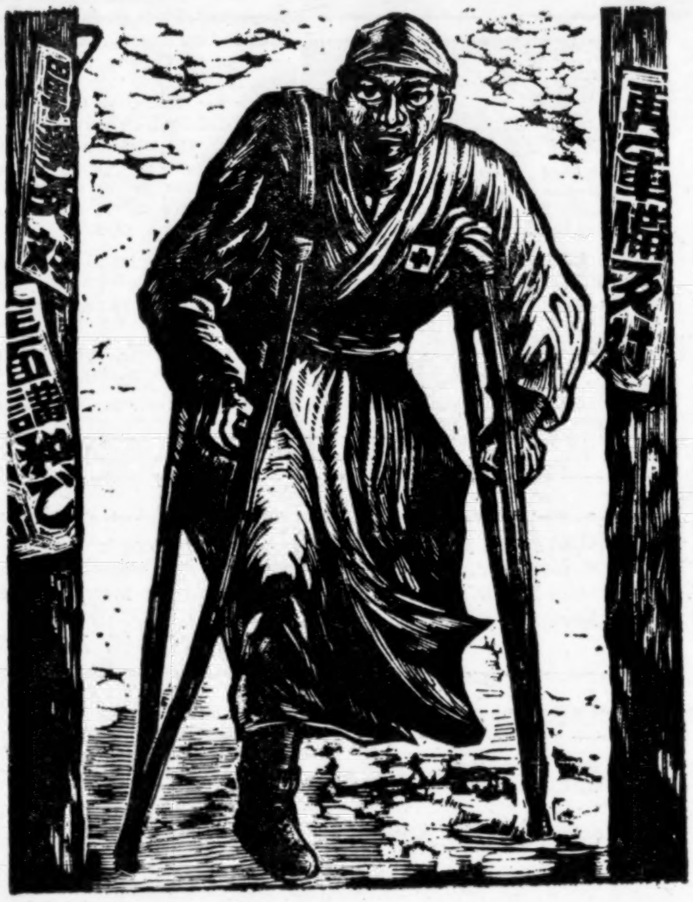
McCARTHY—AND AFTER: Belfrage's arrest in May, 1953, followed by one day his appearance before the McCarthy Committee. Sen. McCarthy announced he would seek to have deportation proceedings instituted against him. On Belfrage's arrival at the GUARDIAN office next morning, he was greeted by two Immigration Service agents who took him to Ellis Island. Atty. Gen. Brownell ordered him held without bail.

Belfrage's attorneys Blanch Freedman and Nathan Dambroff went into Federal Court to reverse the Brownell order. In a written reply submitted to Judge Edward Weinfeld, Belfrage denied the government's allegations that he was a Communist or engaged in espionage work. The government charged in effect that Belfrage, by invoking the Fifth Amendment before the McCarthy Committee, and a week earlier before the Velde House Un-American Activities Committee, had admitted the charges, and that he was a danger to

(Continued on Page 3)



CEDRIC BELFRAGE
A matter that concerns all Americans



They will not forget

The names Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been burned into the souls of the people of Japan. No amount of jingoism by Japan's corrupt rule backed by Washington will send them back on the road to annihilation.

Victim of War, Woodcut by Ichiro Koguchi

WAR & PEACE

How the fight to outlaw the H-Bomb stands 9 years after Hiroshima; Rhee's war cry spells out U. S. policy

By Tabitha Petran

NINE years after Hiroshima, the atomic arms race it launched was nearing a point of no return. Rebuilding of the U. S. military establishment around weapons for extinguishing whole populations proceeded apace; reliance upon them in future "defense" plans seemed almost inescapable.

UN negotiations to outlaw and control the mass-murder weapons were at a standstill. The reason was inadvertently explained in the report of the Atomic Energy Commission board hearings on Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Testimony of Frederick Osborn, U.S. Deputy Representative to the UN Atomic Energy Commission 1947-50, and of David Lilienthal, AEC chairman 1946-50, tended to confirm what critics had long charged: that Washington never had any intention of outlawing the A-bomb; that it advanced the Baruch Plan knowing the U.S.S.R. could not accept it; and thereafter participated in UN atomic control negotiations only for appearances and to satisfy world opinion. George Kennan, former ambassador to Moscow, who as director of the State Dept.'s Policy Planning Staff (1947-50) helped formulate atomic policy, testified that the U.S.—far from building atomic weapons to be held as "deterrents" or for use solely "in retaliation,"—made them "an integral part of forward American military planning" to be used "regardless of whether they were used against us."

FULL SPEED AHEAD: Last spring, after the U. S.'s March 1 H-bomb test, the Western powers moved to reopen UN disarmament talks in an obvious effort to quiet the world outcry it provoked. They bluntly rejected Soviet proposals to include India, China and Czechoslovakia in the subcommittee set up to consider the question. In 20 closed subcommittee meetings in London in May and June, they deviated only in words—not in substance—from the earlier U.S.-dictated stand. Washington's representative Moorehead Patterson played down the Baruch Plan as such since, as the **Christian Science Monitor** pointed out (7/30), it "had lost much of its value as a propaganda weapon;" but he stated more bluntly perhaps than ever before Washington's full-speed-ahead intentions on atomic-hydrogen war preparations.

An Anglo-French proposal, played up as a great concession to the U. S. S. R., contained a "conditional prohibition" against use of A- and H-weapons (the powers would pledge not to use them except against "aggression"); but it was rendered meaningless by the fact that in Western—especially U.S.—definition, any move by any people trying to better their lot may be "aggression." The U.S.S.R. called the proposal a formula to legalize use of the weapons.

FADING ILLUSIONS: Although U.S. delegate Lodge, in rejecting the Soviet plea for India's inclusion, promised India would be invited to present to the subcommittee Premier Nehru's proposal for a standstill agreement to discontinue test explosions until UN could find a way to ban the weapons, the record shows that this and other Indian proposals were not even discussed. By the time the subcommit-

(Continued on Page 5)

IN THIS ISSUE

Nightmare in New York
By Cedric Belfrage........p. 4

Interview with Chaplin
A great artist reflects......p. 2

Civil defense: A myth
Controversy in Cuckooland..p. 5

Brownell rides again
Mexican workers' roundup..p. 6

The N.Y. waterfront
Reel and real life..........p. 9

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THE MAIL BAG

The Raven

BALTIMORE, MD.

There was an old man named Dulles,
Who said it would simply appall us,
To sit and confer
With those who aver
That peaceful solutions are for us.

And what's more, said this bore,
I regret, I deplore
And denounce before it's asserted,
Any word, writ or spoke,
Though it's only a joke,
Any thought to mine contraverted.

So this bold diplomat
With storm and eclat
Flies to lands near and far distant,
Where he opens the door
And shouts "Nevermore!
I depart from here on the instant."

Harold L. Round

Lee Bachelis

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am deeply grieved to have to tell you that we have lost one of the GUARDIAN's most ardent supporters in Los Angeles. It would be hard to find a single good cause in which Lee Bachelis did not enlist his help.

His untimely death at 45 is a double tragedy today when just causes are so cruelly attacked. He leaves with us, however, the greatest heritage: Selma Bachelis, who is a fighter in her own right, and his three children, who have been taught well the ideals their father held dear. It remains for us, his friends—who are so very many in this community — to assume the tasks that Lee Bachelis took upon himself.

Tiba Willner

Farmer-labor unity

TEMPLE, OKLA.

Have just read the article "Workers Face Tragedy as Yonkers Plant Moves South," July 19 issue. I am 57 and I have never before seen such vicious attacks on farmers and labor unions as are being made by most papers here in the south and southwest.

I am a small farmer and the present Administration is making every effort to put us as well as the unions out of business. One paper says we farmers are capitalists. I have never yet seen a capitalist pay just what the other fellow demands and take just what he is offered as we farmers do. It says farmers have nothing to gain by an alliance with labor. In union there is strength and we have everything to gain from union.

We have been attending each other's meetings to a more pronounced degree of late and big business is getting a little scared that such an alliance might occur, which well it might.

The laboring class needs a nation-wide third party, a Labor Party.

O. W. Noblitt
Member, Farmers Union

How crazy can you get dept.

A switchboard operator [in the investigation of a Tacoma teacher] concurred, adding that she had watched the Velde Committee hearings and knew how to recognize a Communist. "They have high cheekbones," she said. "And most of them wear thick-lensed glasses and have eyes that stare straight ahead."

—Tacoma (Wash.) **News Tribune, July 24.**

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: W. J. Dickinson, Bozeman, Mont.

Worth 20 cents?

CHICAGO, ILL.

Double-header day, July 21, witnessed a successfully negotiated peace for Indo-China and Washington's announcement that it is establishing a military advisory commission in Pakistan. This commission will spend $75 million the first year. This will provide employment, at current wage rates, for hardly 20,000 Americans. At the same time it will alienate the long-time friendship of 365 million Indians.

So, this typifies Pentagon mathematics: create 20 cents worth of employment and lose a friend.

Albert Bofman

5th Amendment informer

GARY, IND.

The malicious McCarthy condemns good citizens who avail themselves of the Fifth Amendment and calls them "Fifth Amendment Communists." But he receives with open arms his bosom friend and co-worker, the contemptible and unreliable Louis F. Budenz, who in a deportation hearing in 1947 refused to reply to 23 questions put to him, on the grounds that his answers might make him "liable to criminal prosecution and conviction." A fair sample of McCarthy's consistency and sense of justice.

M. R. Halstead

Shakespeare on Joe

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

On reading of the shenanigans of Windbag Joe, I am reminded of my friend Shakespeare. Here are some quotes from him:

1. "Thieves for their robbery have authority, when judges steal."
2. "Liberty plucks justice by the nose."
3. "What knows the law that thieves do pass on thieves?"

Put a muzzle on him, and a leash. Two-legged mad dogs should have their liberties curtailed, just as are four-legged ones.

W. P. C.

Two appeals from abroad

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.

The struggles we face daily leave little time to pay attention to what is going on in those countries where U. S. monopolies have gained control, and are pressuring governments to crush the democratic movements of the people.

In the past month I have received two letters from abroad. One tells of the earthquake catastrophes in Greece which took a toll of 13,000 houses destroyed, 355 people killed and injured, tens of thousands left homeless. 404 inmates of the Trikkala prison, which was very badly damaged, were taken out into the yard and are being kept there night and day. As the yard is very small, and the prison walls very high, continuing tremors can mean death. The authorities have thus far refused the urgent pleas of political prisoners' relatives to transfer them to safety. The government, while spending huge sums on armaments, refuses to use even a portion of the sums so allotted by the budget for relief measures.

In Argentina, Miss Fannie Edelman, Gen. Secy. of the Union of Argentine Women, was arested with 20 other women and imprisoned. The solidarity of the Union of Argentine Women with the families of strikers during the workers' struggles for higher wages, their participation in the national campaign against the give-away of Argentine oil to U. S. monopolies, and the solidarity with the people of Guatemala, brought repressive measures against them by the police. My correspondent tells of the mighty demonstration of women before the prison where they are being held.

Both letters plead for protests. Can we remain silent? To Greece, these should be sent to the Prime Minister at Athens; to Argentina, to President Peron, Buenos Aires.

Jeannette S. Turner

Still shopping in N.-W.

SPOKANE, WASH.

Conservative carpenters here who voted for Ike appear to be shopping for a new candidate for '56. Adlai stopped off here to crack a few jokes at the convention of the Washington State Fedn. of Labor last week. He got some applause from the delegates, mostly fat mossbacks, but the workers are still shopping. So are the farmers.

Enclosed, prepaid sub for a Montana friend, a former subscriber who has been completely in "hock" after a series of operations. There is no need to send the paper wrapped. She wants the whole town to read it.

Paul R. Emerson

The Earth Gazer

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

What lies outside this ball of mud
May worry you, but not me, bud;
How Martians live, if live they do,
On bugs and worms or oyster stew,
To me appears of little worth
While pressing jobs remain on Earth.

A. H. Reed

The citrus union

LAKELAND, FLA.

Thank you for the story in the GUARDIAN (7/12) on the United Citrus, Fruit & Vegetable Workers of America and for the appeal to the GUARDIAN readers for financial support in helping the American agricultural worker organize in order that he and his family may more fully enjoy the fruits of his labor by getting higher wages and rates of pay.

As long as there is a reservoir of unorganized workers in the fields and groves there is a threat to wage and job security of the northern and western worker.

This organization was born out of a need of an effective labor organization that will respond to the needs of its membership. Negro, white, Democrat, Progressive, Republican—all workers exploited by the factories in the fields—are building this union.

We are glad to have a friend in the GUARDIAN. Tell our friends, the readers of this paper, they will be hearing from us. Thank you, neighbor.

Otis G. Nation, President
United Citrus, Fruit & Vegetable Workers of America

Cow poke's relics

DURANGO, COLO.

Just received my July 19 GUARDIAN. Saw my letter in it about "Buy A Red Relic." Thought I had better make a correction as soon as possible as I don't want no misunderstanding, not with the GUARDIAN. I do not want to sell the collection of prehistoric Indian relics. What I meant was for it to be used as a drawing card for some of the GUARDIAN's fund raising gatherings and social affairs. I would want some one that you personally could depend upon to come and see it, as I may not give as accurate an account of the collection as someone else could.

We will try to make you feel at home while here. I am just an old, worn-out cow poke and rancher.

Lawrence Harper

Inventors of Hell

CINCINNATI, OHIO

The golden age is fast approaching when wage slavery will be a thing of the past. We will then use atomic energy to drive our automobiles, to heat our homes and as fertilizer.

The thing I hate is that which makes men communistic, namely exploitation of the working class and a totalitarian religion which invented Hell and thinks it holds the key to a Heaven it knows nothing about.

Julius Schatzman

Educate the mail clerks

KELOWNA, B. C., CANADA

Leave the paper unwrapped when mailing to me, just in case some mail clerks or postmasters may wish to enjoy themselves reading its contents.

B. B. French

Keep thinking about it

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

"Tiny Man" by Nathaniel Gubbins is a symphonic poem of the artistic age. Keep up the GUARDIAN good works. I could be doing better about it, but don't.

(Dr.) John Greenburg

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor* **JOHN T. McMANUS** *General Manager* **JAMES ARONSON** *Executive Editor*

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> *"Our great poet Tagore, said: 'You do not open a lock with a hammer, you open it with a key devised for the lock.' Certainly we cannot open the locks of men's hearts with hammers, bayonets and bombs."*
>
> *—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.*

REPORT TO READERS

Charlie Chaplin speaks of the spirit of man

On this ninth anniversary of the dropping of the first atom bomb on living persons—Hiroshima, Aug. 8, 1945—we feel there could hardly be a more appropriate theme for mankind's future than peace and love and laughter. These are harmonized in the life and work of Charles Chaplin, humanist and artist, who was awarded the Intl. Peace Prize of the World Peace Council for 1953.

The peace prize jury went to Geneva, Switzerland, last spring to present the award, and its secretary Jorge Zalamea wrote of his meeting with Chaplin. The interview, which appears below, was first published in the Canadian Peace Review *in Toronto.*

IF THERE IS A MAN on this earth who can feel sheltered from the cold war and far from the dangers of an international conflict, the man is Chaplin. The love the people have for him, the fortunes he has built up in a long life of labor, the country he lives in, his age—these offer him a maximum of security in today's world. Charlie Chaplin could devote the splendid twilight of his life to creating further masterpieces enhancing his renown and his fortune.

With unexpected humility, Chaplin told me: "Success has allowed me to remain true to myself."

Because of that loyalty to his own convictions, Charles Chaplin, living with his wife and children amid the books in his libraries and the trees in his park, takes a watchful interest in the outside world. He reacts passionately against men or acts which stand in the way of that ideal of a peaceful, harmonious and happy existence which Chaplin expressed in 80 unforgettable films.

The same indignation which, in 1927, inspired the opening scenes of **Shoulder Arms** and which appeared in 1940 in **The Great Dictator**, now breaks out in these words:

> "The sorry efforts to make the peoples accept atomic warfare are a crime against the spirit of man. But perhaps there is something worse—cold war. For the manufacture of terror weapons is no longer a secret, and in a short time they could be manufactured in every country, big or small. And so they will cancel each other out. But the cold war can go on indefinitely, bringing moral, spiritual and economic ruin to mankind.
>
> "There is no folly greater, no monstrosity more enormous, than that daily poisoning of millions of beings, who are being systematically taught to hate by creating in them artificial fears
>
> "That mad work must be prevented, and this horrible cold war must be stopped!"

As Chaplin speaks, with his face lit by the intelligence and passion of his eyes, there appears through him that Little Man of his films whose life was a constant fight against prejudice, against society and against fate.

The struggle of the Little Man had no other aim than that he should be reconciled with men and with the world. Through the confusion of his adventures he was always seeking a balanced order, a restoration of justice, leading to peace. Chaplin explains:

(Continued on Page 12)

MESSAGE FROM CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Do we fight all the way?

THE U. S. government, which nine years ago denied me the right to become a citizen simply and solely because I had volunteered for service in World War II, is moving this week to throw me out.

I am not practising the well-known British reticence when I say that I don't consider the destiny of this or any nation to hang upon whether my physical body fetches up here or in Britain. No terrifying fate awaits me in my native land, as it does others—Spaniards, Koreans, Greeks—threatened with deportation. Indeed, if I were deported I should once again have the privilege, long denied to all progressives in America, of traveling wherever my work as a writer may call me as I once used to do from here.

But I believe every GUARDIAN reader will see the far broader implications of this attempted deportation. It is clearly not me, but a part of the truth that resides in this paper, that the cold warriors want to put on a boat while the Statue of Liberty forever after holds up a sign: KEEP OUT.

WHAT'S NEEDED: This is a message to each one of you magnificent people, who have kept us at bat for the truth for six years, that:

- Our attorneys — fighters for principle in whom we have the deepest and warmest confidence — are convinced that the fight to prevent my deportation is one eminently worth making;
- The fight may be long or not so long, but will anyhow run into thousands of dollars in barest necessary costs;
- The GUARDIAN, in this midsummer season, is even harder up than usual for the money just to keep publishing; all but a few mites of the present Belfrage Fight-Back Fund have been spent in winning our bail fight.

IT IS a simple but rather solemn set of facts. The Justice Dept. is well aware of them. This is the now-classic manner of "indirectly" drowning progressive organizations by trying to tie them up in legal costs. It means that supporters of a GUARDIAN have to be asked to send additional dollars, which they can't afford, over and above what they send to keep the paper rolling.

So there I leave it to you to answer:

- Do you believe this fight is worth making?
- If so, can you help NOW?

If you will send back your reply today on the coupon above, we will know where we stand.

—Cedric Belfrage

Belfrage Fight-Back Fund
17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7

☐ Yes, I believe we should fight all the way.

I enclose $........ to help.

☐ I'll try to send more when I can.

Name ....

Address ....

City.................... Zone...... State...........

Belfrage hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

the nation's security.

DEFENSE OF FIFTH: Weinfeld rejected the government's contention, defended the use of the Fifth Amendment and ordered Belfrage released in bond. Judge Charles E. Clark of the U. S. Court of Appeals refused a government request to intervene pending a hearing by the full court. The government made no move for a deportation hearing; last December the full Appeals Court—Judges Clark, Jerome N. Frank and Carroll Hincks—heard further argument. In April the court returned a unanimous opinion upholding Belfrage's right to bail. The opinion was a ringing reassertion of constitutional guarantees, especially of the Fifth Amendment.

Fill the room!

The Belfrage deportation hearing opens at 9 a.m., Tues., Aug. 10. It will be on the 8th floor of the Immigration Bldg, 70 Columbus Av., at 63d St. Every GUARDIAN reader who can should attend opening day and every day thereafter; it is a public hearing. If you can't come, ask your friends to come. A full room will be the best testament to your solidarity with editor Belfrage and the GUARDIAN.

WHEN BELFRAGE WON HIS RELEASE FROM ELLIS ISLAND
The GUARDIAN's editor (l.) being greeted on the steps of the Federal Courthouse in New York by his attorneys, Blanch Freedman (c.) and Nathan Dambroff

The government did not avail itself of the right to appeal to the Supreme Court, and last week came the invitation to a deportation hearing. The hearings were scheduled to open at 9 a.m., Aug. 10, on the 8th floor of the Dept. of Immigration Bldg., 70 Columbus Av., New York. Gloria Agrin, who was associated with the late Emanuel Bloch in the Rosenberg case, will join the defense.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS: The Belfrage case from the outset has been regarded not only as a test of constitutional liberty and the McCarran Act, but of freedom of the press as well. Questions put to the editor at the McCarthy hearing (the subject was "government operations") made it clear that the GUARDIAN was as much a target as were his activities as press control officer in Germany during and after World War II.

Belfrage, who has been editor of the GUARDIAN since the paper's foundation in 1948, was born in London, Nov. 8, 1904. He first came to the U. S. as a magazine writer in 1926 and has lived here ever since except for five years in the 30's as film and theater critic and traveling correspondent of the London **Daily Express**, and 18 months' war service abroad in 1944-45. He is the author of two autobiographical works, **Away From It All** and **They All Hold Swords**, a life of the Rev. Claude Williams, **A Faith to Free the People**, and two novels, **Abide With Me** and **Promised Land**. As he puts it, his life and opinions are "open for all the world to see" in his books and in the GUARDIAN.

WAR SERVICE: He first entered the U. S. as a permanent resident on the British quota in 1937. Immediately he took out first citizenship papers. He volunteered for war service with the British government in 1941, before Pearl Harbor. He was unable to complete his U. S. citizenship in 1942 (the end of the five-year waiting period) except by resigning his war service, and he felt he could not do this. By 1944 (the end of the period within which citizenship could have been concluded) he was in France with Supreme Hq. Allied Expeditionary Forces; he went on to Germany and was finally discharged in London late in 1945. His commanding officer, Lt. Col. J. B. Stanley of the U. S. Army, commended him warmly for his service, indicating that the work in Germany would suffer if his return to the job could not be arranged.

The U. S. Immigration Service denied him permission to return as a previous and permanent resident to his wife and two American-born children, on the ground that he had "overstayed his permitted period of absence" abroad. Belfrage therefore had to go through the process of immigrating under the quota all over again. Immediately on his return he applied to complete his citizenship, pointing out that his absence abroad was for war service under the command of the U. S. Army. The Immigration Service said this was no justification, told him he must take out new "first papers" and wait another five years. Belfrage declined to do so: he pointed out that if he had not voluntarily undertaken war service in 1941 he would have been a citizen since 1942.

FIGHT-BACK FUND: GUARDIAN readers rallied to his defense immediately on hearing of his arrest. A Belfrage Fight-Back Fund was established to defray the heavy costs of the bail fight in the courts; letters poured into Ellis Island; a stir was created abroad, especially in England, where questions were asked in the House of Commons. Belfrage wrote several articles, on request, from Ellis Island for papers in England, France and Israel. The U. S. press, with a few exceptions, ignored the fight.

A man of stubbornly independent thought, Belfrage says he first came to the U. S. in search of "the American Dream," and that while his search has often been rudely interrupted, he has never given up.

He sees his fight for the right to live and work in freedom in America not as a personal one, but as one which involves every American who believes in our heritage. In an article written just before his arrest for the London **News-Chronicle** (May 15, 1953) titled "The Things Belfrage Could Not Say" (before McCarthy) the GUARDIAN's editor wrote:

> "What may happen to me personally as a result of my defiance of the Committee is my own problem. What is happening to the freedom to oppose and protest by the printed word—and there is precious little opposition left with which to debate and decide American policy intelligently—is a problem for all Americans.
>
> "In the 1790's, printers and editors opposing the infamous Alien & Sedition Laws were the chief target of witch-hunters who summoned them before similar committees, hounded and jailed them. But they stood up for their rights; and America survived that 'reign of witches' as Thomas Jefferson called it then.
>
> "This 'reign of witches,' too, will surely be drowned in ignominy by an aroused American people."

•

Everybody out for the Belfrage deportation hearings Aug. 10!

Stop the Bomb!

WHILE a war in the long unforeseeable future may result in the destruction of cities and whole populations, the poisoning of the land, ocean and atmosphere is occurring here and now. Long before nations meet in battle with all the horrors of modern weapons, the air and soil, the water and food supply of the world, indeed, the health of mankind and all living things may be undermined irreparably by "mere" experiments. The gravity of this threat can hardly be overestimated. If the present explosions in the Pacific Ocean are continued or graduated further in intensity, they may simply make the earth uninhabitable for life. . . .

None of the laconic accounts, plans, estimates and reports supplied for public consumption by the Atomic Energy Commission and Admiral Strauss are trustworthy. This agency lavishly spends the money of American taxpayers and juggles their lives behind a veil of super-secrecy. It even refuses to supply the people of the U. S. with facts that admittedly are possessed by the Russians and that are readily given to the English people by the British government. . . . The Commission treats the people of the U. S. as though they were a bunch of gibbering idiots. The most obvious, common sense facts have a way of becoming transformed by AEC spokesmen into the most arrant nonsense. . . .

Every human being in the U. S. owes it to himself once and for all to pause in the bustle of daily life, look clearly at the danger ahead, and act within his legal means to prevent this H-bomb insanity from bringing all his plans, efforts and aspirations to a catastrophic end. A widespread public protest must be heard against any further explosions, against horrible poison gases that can kill millions of people in a few minutes, against ever more devastating means of destruction.

—From "Stop the Bomb," pamphlet pub. by Contemporary Issues, 545 5th Av., N. Y. C. 17.

WHO KNEW GEORGE Q. McSPELVINOFF—AND IF SO, WHY NOT?

The nightmare of the gum-chewers: The American-Soviet Council hearings

By Cedric Belfrage

"IT'S pure Kafka": that is your first thought as you emerge from a day at the Subversive Activities Control Board's "hearings" of the American-Soviet Friendship Council. Have you read Franz Kafka's novel **The Trial** about the man who finds himself on trial in a court but never discovers what he is charged with?

If you have, you probably recall the nightmare effect it had on you. If not . . . well, if it's nightmares you want, then don't bother. For the second, soberer thought of a visitor to the SACB hearings is that the Eisenhower Administration in the U.S. has left poor old Viennese pre-war Kafka not just behind, but out of sight.

For after all, Kafka's man was presumably charged with some crime, even if he didn't know what. And the courtroom was a sort of a courtroom, with a judge and a pretense of objectivity and legal procedures roughly observed, even though nobody seemed to know what it was all in aid of.

THE NIGHTMARE THAT'S REAL: But consider the setting and the cast of this fantastic performance—call it tragedy or farce, for it is both—in the heart of the world's greatest city in this year of our disgrace 1954.

The "accused"—the role the ASFC is assigned and compelled to play—is accused of no crime at all. The official purpose of the proceedings is to "find" that the ASFC is "subversive"—that is, since U.S.-Soviet friendship can only advance peace, that peace is subversive—and compel it to proclaim itself so publicly.

The "judge," in the person of one David J. Coddaire of the SACB who acts as chairman, is not a judge (and why should he be, since nobody is charged with any crime?). A venerable Republican in shirtsleeves, of outstanding obscurity in national life (he was an asst. atty. general in Massachusetts when Truman gave him the job), he never conducted a hearing before. (He presided at the Intl. Workers Order "hearings," but as that case went by default there was no hearing.) The law empowers him—and again, why not?—to delegate the chair to someone else at any time and go fishing for fish.

CHAMPING JAWS: The "prosecutors"—although nobody is charged with anything—certainly do prosecute in their own odd fashion, in co-operation with the "judge." The questions put to witnesses by the two government attorneys, two "bright" young men who relentlessly chew gum throughout the day, are such as the lowliest city magistrate's court would not permit, so remote are they from the "issue." They are "sharp," these two, like any would-be Roy Cohns, but their ignorance of the first elements of legal procedure is as breath-taking as their ignorance of all the political, moral, historical and religious matters on which their questions bear.

Finally, the setting: it is not a courtroom; it is not even a room. The place where some of the most distinguished Americans of our time are being heckled by the gum-chewers is the central section of the 9th floor of New York's decayed Immigration Service building. It is surrounded on all four sides by thin partitions through which come loud arguments or guffaws from adjoining offices, the sound of vacuum cleaners and even pneumatic drills—such a babel that at times the proceedings must stop and someone (defense attorney Rein when I was there) must get up, knock on a partition and shout for quiet.

The "room" itself contains a few ricketty tables at which sit the members of the cast, and scattered chairs and benches for about 50 of "the public." All this in the headquarters of a division of the same government agency, the Justice Dept., which brings the charges that are not charges.

RUNNING SCUTTLEBUTT: Yes, indeed, it is a "public" session. The assistant gum-chewer has a portfolio of snapshots through which he riffles to try and identify anyone who comes. Presumably if you come, you must be "subversive"; and he is worried because you might turn out to be the next witness the defense will call, and he might be caught short without the FBI scuttlebutt dossier from which to ask his ludicrous questions. (In my case, having established my identity, he was plainly disappointed when I was not called.)

ARTHUR UPHAM POPE

There's nothing below bottom

The essence of the way the proceedings are conducted, as the immense and insane record will show if anyone reads it (but why should they?), is that virtually every time the gum-chewers object to a question as irrelevant, they are sustained by Coddaire; and virtually every time the defense objects, they are overruled. This overruling was so standardized by the day I was there that witnesses expected nothing else, and started answering the legally inadmissible questions before Coddaire had time to drone, "He may answer."

The gum-chewers even try to keep the publications of the ASFC out of the record as irrelevant, but Coddaire nevertheless allows them to be entered—making it plain with a weary shrug that he, too, regards them as of no relevance whatever. In any event, it is reasonably sure that no one will ever read them.

THAT DAY IN 1941: The witness the morning I was there was the sixth eminent American now or formerly associated with the ASFC whom Louis Budenz had testified was a Communist; and who came voluntarily to defend the Council and call Budenz a liar. He was one-time ASFC vice-chairman Arthur Upham Pope, 73, founder of the Asia Institute, tireless worker for morale-building in World War II, and America's leading authority on Persian art.

Using the FBI scuttlebutt file, the gum-chewers launched upon the standard witch-hunter line, asking Pope silly questions about the various progressive organizations and functions with which they sought to "link" him. Had he done this on some day in 1941, did he say that to so-and-so on the third Tuesday in March of 1944, did he "know" George Q. McSpelvinoff: yes or no? If yes, did he know McSpelvinoff was a such-and-such and if not why not? If no, what about this here now story in the **Daily Worker**?

STRIKE THAT PART: How many times, and why, had he visited the Soviet Embassy? (Pope had explained he was a former friend and the biographer of Litvinov.) Did he ever give a dollar to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade? (Yes, he did—because he "thought they were fighting for American ideals." Coddaire: "That last part may be struck from the record.") Who were the incorporators of the China Aid Council? (He couldn't recall the names; one was "a very famous doctor—the physician for the Shah of Persia when he was here." Coddaire: "Strike that part about him being famous.") What were Pope's relations with Intourist (the Soviet agency through which all pre-war travel in the U.S.S.R. had to be arranged; Pope had described three visits to that country.) "Isn't it a fact that Intourist is an agency of the Cominform?" Did he think the U.S. used germ warfare in Korea? No, he did not.

What was his connection with the New School for Social Research? (The New School is well-known to almost any New York as vociferously anti-communist.) "Isn't it a fact that this school is used by the Communist Party to disseminate its propaganda?" And then this dialogue:

> "Are you familiar with the Communist Party line?"
>
> Pope: "To some extent."
>
> Gum-chewer: "Where did you get your information about the Communist Party line?"
>
> Pope: "I got a lot of it from a long conversation with Mayor La Guardia."
>
> Gum-chewer: "Mayor La Guardia has been dead how long?"

OBJECTION SUSTAINED: The first objection by either side that I heard sustained by Coddaire between 9:30 and 11:30 a.m. (there had been scores or hundreds of them from Rein) was one made by the gum-chewers to a question by Rein, who tried to get in the record the manner in which Pope had made one trip to the U.S.S.R. after World War II. (The gum-chewers had left the implication that Pope traveled in a plane provided by Moscow.) Rein asked if it was not a fact that the plane was provided by the U.S. War Dept. on the order of President Truman; Pope said it was. Rein then asked:

> "Who else was on that plane?"
> Gum-chewer: "Objection."
> Coddaire: "Objection sustained."

Toward the end, Pope was asked whether he would have felt the same way about the groups he supported if he had known the Atty. General had listed them as subversive. He replied:

> "I regard the Atty. General's list as irrelevant and without legal validity."

IS THIS THE BOTTOM? Leaving the hearing, Pope said to me: "Well, I think we have really touched rock bottom." He had been extraordinarily patient through the morning's nightmare. Once he had tried to protest that the questions were not fair; Coddaire's answer was: "Strike that out." Pope had added, in his only show of emotion: "Must I sit silent while he [the gum-chewer] impugns my honor?" Coddaire said:

> "One more remark from you, Mr. Witness, and I'll move these hearings back to Washington."

That is the one pitiful threat that Coddaire, who has no genuine legal powers, can hold over the head of the ASFC—knowing it to be at its wits' end to meet even the cost of the defense in New York. They are so broke that they cannot obtain copies of the hearing records, which cost some $75 a day; when Rein wants to check the record he must borrow either Coddaire's or the gum-chewers' copy.

Free world vignettes

Wanted—A single man, not over 25 years of age, to drive an automobile in a head-on collision with another automobile in connection with the Fayette County Fair. We already have one man. . . . Both cars must be speeding at 45 miles an hour at point of crash—a 90-mile-an-hour impact—and drivers must give unconditional release in case of injury or death. Give price you want and all details in first letter.

—Ad in Georgetown (O.) News-Democrat, quoted in Pasadena (Calif.) Independent, (6/14).

SEVEN-TIME LIAR: The seventh witness now or formerly connected with the ASFC who came forward to call Budenz a liar was Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard prof. emeritus of philosophy; the others had been the Revs. Wm. Howard Melish and Wm. Spofford, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, and Chicago Univ. emeritus profs. E. W. Burgess and Robert Morss Lovett. On Aug. 3 Rein said he had no more witnesses and the hearing was recessed.

The audience at the circus, mostly elderly ladies who still think we were on the right side in the last war, looked melancholy as they sat there. All they could do to help, other than giving moral support by their presence, was to keep supplying witnesses with water in paper cups—which they did with warm sisterly smiles.

They were sad because, although they were determined to slay the outrageous monster draped in the flag of their country, they wondered how their Council would accomplish it with empty coffers.

They were sad contemplating the crudities of Coddaire and the gum-chewers, and thinking that these grotesque characters were actually being paid for their grossness, and that they as taxpayers were the ones who paid them.

OLD-FASHIONED PEOPLE: They were sad because they realized what it all added up to: that the "hearing" was a mere charade for show purposes with conclusion foregone, and that was why "their" government was content to send mediocrities to conduct it. When the buffoonery was over, there could be but one verdict—for if the government's "point" were not vindicated, the entire fraudulent edifice of the cold war held up by psychotic stool-pigeons would collapse.

They were sad thinking of the old days in America when even an enemy of the people like Alexander Hamilton had to show reasonable intelligence and knowledge in order not to be jeered into oblivion. They looked at the press table: there was nobody there to raise a jeer, just one man (perhaps from AP?) taking routine notes.

DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY

Chairman of the ASFC, who also testified at the hearings

They were sad about what had happened to a set of principles which they are so old-fashioned as still to uphold: the principles of the U.S. Constitution and its Bill of Rights. But they were proud of those who willingly faced the nightmare to try to save their country's good name.

What A-Bombs and H-Bombs have done to the Japanese people

On Aug. 1, the N. Y. Herald Tribune *reported: "Its first offer of $800,000 refused, the U. S. is now prepared to pay Japan $1 million for damages suffered in the case of the 'Fortunate Dragon'—the fishing boat caught in the radioactive 'fall-out' of the H-bomb blast in March. Tokyo is reported still unsatisfied."*

Why Japan is "still unsatisfied" is indicated in this letter to the GUARDIAN from Shingo Shibata of the Hosei Univ. Sociology Dept., Tokyo branch secy. of Japan's Democratic Scientists Assn:

ACCORDING to your "How Crazy Can You Get" Dept. of June 28, it seems Americans believe that A-bombs on Japan had not produced defects in children born. The **UP** dispatch of June 24 reported that Dr. Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission described as "absurd and scientifically unfeasible" a geneticist's assertion that A- and H-bomb tests already staged will result in production of seriously defective individuals.

We, Japanese people, twice baptized with A-bombs and lately the first victims of H-bomb tests, disagree strongly with Dr. Strauss. At the ninth All-Japan Midwives' Society convention vice-pres. Mrs. Nasano Morokuma reported that, of the 30,105 children born in A-bombed Nagasaki between Jan. 1950 and Dec. 1953, 3,630 were abnormal.

Since the March 1 Bikini H-bomb test it has been found that 1) 23 fishermen affected by radioactive ashes show no signs of recovery; 2) crewmen of other boats returning to port had white corpuscle counts so low they required medical treatment; 3) radioactive ashes floated far beyond the alleged danger zone, affecting fish 2,000 miles from Bikini; 4) considerable radioactivity was recorded in rains which fell all over the country; one liter of rain accumulated in one minute in Kyoto registered 86,760 counts of a Geiger counter; 5) the leading newspaper **Asahi** of July 29 reported that, according to Meteorological Research Institute director Dr. Hidotoshi Arakawa, Japan may have the poorest crops in more than 170 years because of the cool summers which are closely rélated to the Bishop's ring around the sun, influenced by dust thrown into the stratosphere by the Bikini blasts.

DON'T RE-ARM
A trade union demonstration in Tokyo

WE Japanese people heard the sad news that the U. S. government had rejected the world peoples' proposal in the UN to stop further testing of H-weapons. If another test is made in the near future, radioactive ashes must fall on this country when rice is being harvested. We shudder with horror at the dark prospect, and the horror is rapidly changing into furious anger.

At its ninth general convention on May 30 Japan's Democratic Scientists Assn., after describing in detail the horrors of A- and H-bombs, declared:

> "American scientists who have participated in the production of hydrogen bombs must have well foreseen the horrible, inhuman destructive consequences of the explosions . . . [They] did not try to work on the government to suspend production of such horrible bombs [but] co-operated with their government . . . stepping aside from the supreme and intrinsic responsibility of scientists to dedicate their research to the enhancement of common welfare . . . We, while adopting a resolution calling for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs, hereby strongly protest to our colleagues in the U.S. for their collaboration with the government in producing these bombs . . . We declare herewith that we shall not participate in the research or experiments of an atomic bomb, and appeal to the peoples of the entire world to start an international movement to realize the prohibition of research and experiment of all atomic weapons."

Similar resolutions have been passed by the Japan Council of Science, the Special Comm. on Nuclear Research, the Japan Geological Society and the Japan Meteorological Society.

Dear Americans, do you not join the present-day worldwide Crusade against the H-bombs?

—Shingo Shibata

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

UN Disarmament Commission at the end of July, the Western diversion had succeeded in taking the edge off the worldwide protest of last spring. But Washington was hardly in the "much stronger propaganda position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union" (**CSM**, 7/30) that some sources claimed.

At the same time, the illusion generated by Eisenhower's international atomic pool plan, outlined to the General Assembly last Dec. 8, were now being dispelled. Patterson told the UN Disarmament Commission (7/20): "The President's proposals were not intended to provide disarmament." The Soviet position has been that without a prior guarantee against use of A- and H-bombs, the plan would (as Jacob Malik told the London meeting)

> ". . . give a deceptive appearance of reducing the production of atomic weapons and thereby would lull the vigilance of the peoples to the growing threat of a war accompanied by the use of means of mass annihilation of peoples."

"ATOMIC MARSHALL PLAN": Since mid-May the President and other top officials have expressed determination to set up an international atomic pool excluding the U.S.S.R.—although the U.S.S.R. has not rejected the plan as such. The real purpose of the pool as Washington conceived it was made plain by the atomic energy bill, passed by Congress last month after 13 days' debate. Its foreign-policy sections, presented as designed to facilitate creation of an international atomic pool, in fact restrict the President's power to negotiate to bilateral agreements—thus weakening the bargaining position of U.S. allies. They make the giving of any even non-military information dependent on satisfaction of U.S. "security" requirements—thus opening wider the door to U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

This legislation gives substance to the charge made earlier in the French and Soviet press that the plan is "an atomic Marshall Plan" (**Figaro**, 5/21) designed to put the U.S. in control of the atomic raw materials, research developments, scientific skills of the Western world, and permit it to block peaceful development of atomic energy or bring such development under Washington's control.

THE DEATH OF THINKING: Nine years after, it is clear that one of the greatest casualties of the Hiroshima bomb is the educated American's capacity to think rationally. The entire Oppenheimer proceedings testify to the distortion and corruption of opinion—especially educated and supposedly responsible opinion—by the "might makes right" doctrine the A-bomb was used to foster and by the reduction of "security" to the mathematics of destructive power.

(The only witness before the Oppenheimer board to challenge this doctrine directly was Kennan, who pointed out that the Russians "have been very, very careful not to use the weapons of mass destruction as a threat to other people [or] . . . as a means of pressure"; who suggested that the U. S. would be no worse off today if the Russians had developed the H-bomb and the U.S. had not, and that opposition to the development of such weapons could be an act of "devotion to one's country.")

RHEE SPELLS IT OUT: When last week the Congress was used as a rostrum for a demand for an all-out atomic-hydrogen war of aggression, it was a measure of how far the U. S. has traveled in nine years. S. Korean President Rhee's clarion call for war could not be dismissed as the private fantasy of an aging dictator. What Rhee did was to make explicit the assumption underlying the War against China policy advocated in top Administration circles, and the "preventive" (i.e. aggressive) war arguments being made by such communists as the Alsops, Senators like Symington, and some military leaders.

Rhee, in short, spelled out the implications of the war-preparations policy Washington has pursued since it fired what was even then called the opening shot of World War III at Hiroshima. In New York Rhee said the only difference between him and Eisenhower was whether to fight a world war now or later.

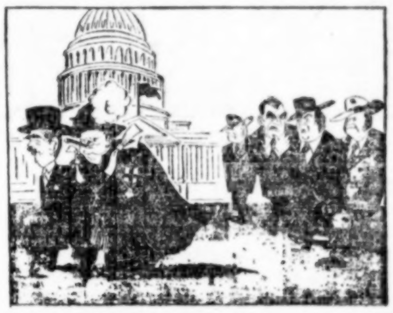
If Congress heard Rhee's call in "stunned silence," and newspapers generally termed it "unfortunate," there was no indication that these molders of public opinion understood that such a war is the logical, even inevitable, outcome of the war-preparations policy they advanced every day, and can be prevented only by calling a halt to that policy. The Indo-China truce seemed indeed to have spurred war preparations—the latest step being a move for a universal draft "geared to the day of active war with the Soviet Union" and designed to provide "an effective reserve" for that war (Asst. Defense Secy. Hannah).

TIDE AGAINST WIND: Yet as Joseph Harsch wrote (**CSM**, 7/31), world events today are like objects floating in the sea when the wind blows one way and the tide moves another. The wind from Washington still blows toward war, but the tide beneath is moving away from it and "'Washington had lost the ability to stem the tide if it had wished to do so."

Outlawing of mass-annihilation weapons—long a world imperative—today becomes a possible and crucial step in halting Washington's war policy. The issue will be fought again in the UN General Assembly this fall. India has demanded that its proposals be incorporated in the Disarmamen Commission's report to the Assembly to insure their discussion. These proposals, with worldwide backing, will not again be easily dismissed.

A possibly significant development was the stand taken by the new French government in the July Disarmament Commission meetings. Its spokesman, Jules Moch, took the line that the Indo-China truce opened new perspectives for disarmament, said the Baruch Plan was dead, tried to minimize the difference between Soviet and Western positions. This may point to a shift in the French stand; Premier Mendes-France is reported to believe that the arms race must end, and that the real challenge to the West is an economic and social one.

Many Americans feel a special responsibility, as the only people whose government has used A-bombs, to join in the worldwide movement to outlaw the mass-murder weapons and expose as a fraud Washington's claim that such a ban is meaningless because "the Russians can't be trusted." Many ask the question: have not the Russians, encircled by U.S. bases and hearing daily the threats of U.S. spokesmen, somewhat more reason for skepticism?



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"But I tell yer, the one's been to Russia once and the other guy's actually been talking to the Chinese!"

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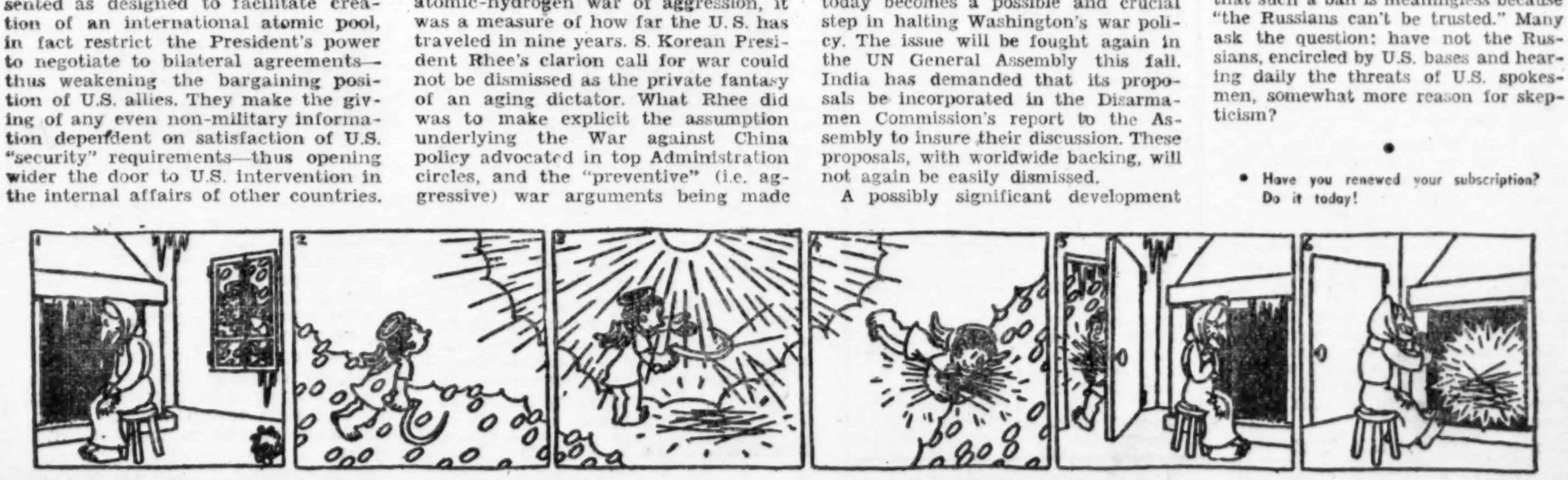
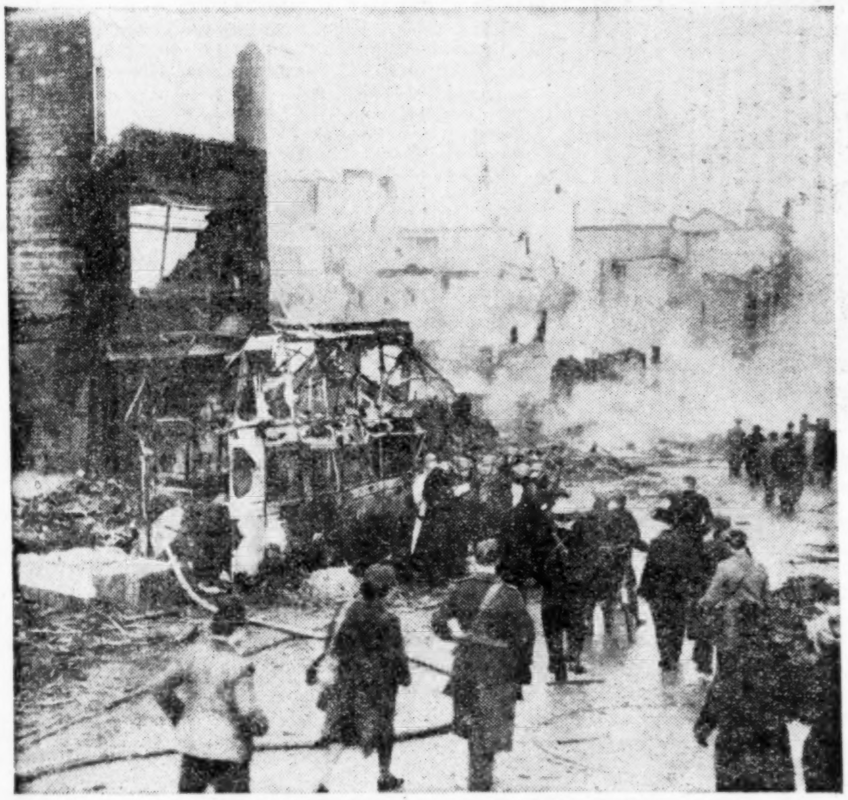


CUCKOOLAND WAS NEVER LIKE THIS

Civil defense in the H-Bomb era



THIS WAS COVENTRY ON DECEMBER 9, 1940

IN the between-world-wars era a British Tory named Leslie Hore-Belisha became Home Secretary and met the challenge of traffic accidents by erecting throughout the cities of his country millions of orange-colored glass globes atop zebra-striped iron posts to show the populace where to cross the street. The populace, which already knew where to cross, gave its verdict on the "Belisha beacons" by organizing parties to move through the streets at night picking off the globes with air rifles and stones. Amid a chorus of rudely triumphant sounds from Tories, Labourites, Liberals and Communists alike the beacons were finally removed by the same people who put them there. Somebody made the immortal comment—for it was a period when millions were without work: "Ah, well, it all makes employment."

The same thing is now happening in the U. S., in an area of governmental public-safety operations whose remoteness from the problem they are supposed to solve has been equally recognized by the populace from the outset.

IT'S "HIT-THE-ROAD" NOW: The area in question is "Civil Defense" against A- and H-bombs. The "Belisha beacons" are highway signs all over the land advising the populace—which already knows that if a bomb fell within a few miles they would not be in a condition to use any road at all—not to use that road in the event of enemy air attack. The Washington **Post** (6/20) reported that these signs

> ". . . will be taken down soon, outmoded by the H-bomb. Instead of banning the public from the highways, the Civil Defense Administration's new policy is to allow urban populations to use the roads to flee . . . All highways must be kept open to permit a mass exodus from cities . . . The official policy now is for the populace to run for the hills . . . 'The signs were put up by State highway departments in most instances at the request of State Civil Defense authorities,' one official said. 'I suppose the same people will be asked to take them down'."

The signs had not only "made employment," but their removal had chalked up a famous victory for the hit-the-road faction against the hit-the-dirt group in one of the noisiest and most yawn-provoking controversies of the cold war.

O'BRIEN IS STAGGERED: CD Administrator Val Peterson set the new official line when he said that "the mass evacuation of cities is an 'urgent necessity' in an emergency of the hydrogen bomb threat"; but New York City Director Herbert R. O'Brien adhered pretty much to the hit-the-dirt position which holds that you're as safe under a tenement stairway, in a cellar or anywhere his boys have marked "SHELTER" as locked in a mass of people and vehicles in the street. While recognizing that "a mass movement of automobiles would unquestionably result," O'Brien said (N. Y. **Times**, 7/1):

> "The problem of moving [8,000,000 inhabitants] out of the city even with several hours' warning of approaching attack, is one that staggers the imagination of anyone who has tried to get out to the country on an ordinary holiday week-end."

They outlaw war

Christianity: All things whatsoever that ye would that men should do to you, do ye so to them; for this is the Law and the Prophets.

Judaism: What is hateful to you, do not to your fellowman. That is the entire Law; all the rest is commentary.

Buddhism: Hurt not others in ways that you yourself would find hurtful.

Islam: No one of you is a believer until he desires for his brother that which he desires for himself.

Brahmanism: This is the sum of duty: Do naught unto others which would cause you pain if done to you.

Confucianism: Is there one maxim which ought to be acted upon throughout one's whole life? Surely it is the maxim of loving kindness: Do not unto others what you would not have them do unto you.

Taoism: Regard your neighbor's gain as your own gain, and your neighbor's loss as your own loss.

Zoroastrianism: That nature alone is good which refrains from doing unto others whatsoever is not good for itself.

To increase the confusion somewhat, O'Brien added that his organization "had become so widely recognized for leadership in its field" that it was getting requests for guidance from all over. Such was the status of the hit-the-road vs. hit-the-dirt controversy as of last month. Response to the billboard, bus-and-subway sign, and radio appeals for CD volunteers remained far below the minimum target. Americans seemed curiously unmoved to volunteer for a job which seemed to them to consist of one corpse giving orders—whatever the debaters might finally agree they should be—to other corpses.

SCIENTISTS SEE "HAVOC": Those who wanted to probe deeper into the controversy could learn what the nation's top scientists felt about it by buying a copy of the June **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,** to which such men as Oppenheimer, Szilard, Urey, Einstein, David Lilienthal and Gordon Dean contribute their thinking. Editorially, the **Bulletin** brain-trust has decided that the idea of "staying put and ducking into the shelters . . . would be suicidal in an atomic war, even if the shelters were available." In other words, the same people who put up the millions of "SHELTER" signs might as well follow the road-sign erectors' example and take them all down again.

The scientists saw some hope in the Val Peterson hit-the-road approach provided we could have "two, or better four, or still better six hours of warning of impending attack" to be provided by long-range radar screens; but on the other hand there was the danger of guided missiles which radar could not screen, or of atomic mines which could easily be placed in "any cellar in Manhattan, any locker in a Chicago warehouse." Another problem of the "hit-the road" approach was that populations of the great cities might find themselves continually evacuating:

> "A spot on the screen of a radar station in Greenland — and out march the populations of our big cities, from Boston to Los Angeles, since there is no way of telling whether an attack is impending or which city may be the target. If no attack materializes, back into the cities march the millions (or those who are willing to return). A series of such false alarms may well create havoc with the nation's morale and economy!"

THE COKE PROBLEM: The editorial nevertheless finds "the program of mass evacuation" to be "an indispensable emergency measure" and the dispersal of key industry "a logically inevitable long-range aim." As key U. S. industry is now located, says an article on this subject quoting a recent report by Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. chairman Adm. Ben Moreell, 82% of total iron production, 77% of coke production and 73% of steel ingot production capacity could be "destroyed or severely damaged" by "ten properly placed H-bombs." A "small" atomic bomb could put totally out of commission the Sault St. Marie locks through which passed 80 of the 124 million gross tons of iron ore shipped in the U. S. in 1951.

Yet in the same **Bulletin** the whole notion of industry-dispersal and mass evacuation is given a deadly debunking by Prof. Hornell Hart of Duke University—an extremely worried man full of charts and diagrams.

HORROR & TORTOISES: Prof. Hart makes these points with regard to a "hypothetical 1954 raid" based on estimates of atomic bombs in Russia's possession this year:

- Such a raid could "blast 400 sq. miles out of the hearts of the five cities through which 2/3 of the nation's financial transactions take place, and blast the heart out of each of the other centers responsible for 1% or more of the nation's money operations. . . . In the light of the 1933 crisis, and of our general knowledge of the sensitive interrelatedness of business transactions, what effect would such a raid have upon the viability of the financial life of the U. S. . . . Could the American financial system survive?"

- The transport system and power plans could be reduced to a shambles for lack of fuel; even one A-bomb could eliminate "all of official Washington" including "the whole chain of substitutes provided for succession to the presidency . . . What are the plans which promise any reasonable hope of maintaining any effective American government after such a raid?"
- In a "hypothetical 1957 raid" on the 25 chief metropolitan areas there would be 20 million casualties out of a total population of 30 million; Hart asks just how the survivors could be fed and given medical aid since "the vast bulk of our civil defense organization has its headquarters and draws its personnel from the very areas which are to be blasted; presumably 2/3 of its staff would be dead or injured."
- As for dispersal of industry, "even if it were an appropriate remedy for the nuclear bomb danger, it is inherently so slow a process that it would have no chance of meeting the problem . . . [It is like] matching a sleeping tortoise against a racing automobile."

Hart appends a note to his article that "the menace has grown worse since it was drafted" owing to new advances in H-bomb destructiveness and new information as to Russian potential.

ISN'T SOMEBODY NAKED? While CD experts wrangled and scientists worked out charts and blueprints of the potential holocaust, the whole situation had been brought nicely down to size in the old "Belisha beacon" tradition by a city in the British midlands named Coventry. Coventry is noted for several things: for its auto and steelware industries, for having been the West's chief victim of Nazi destruction in World War II as Stalingrad was in the East, and for the fact that it was the city through which the famous Lady Godiva rode in the nude on a horse.

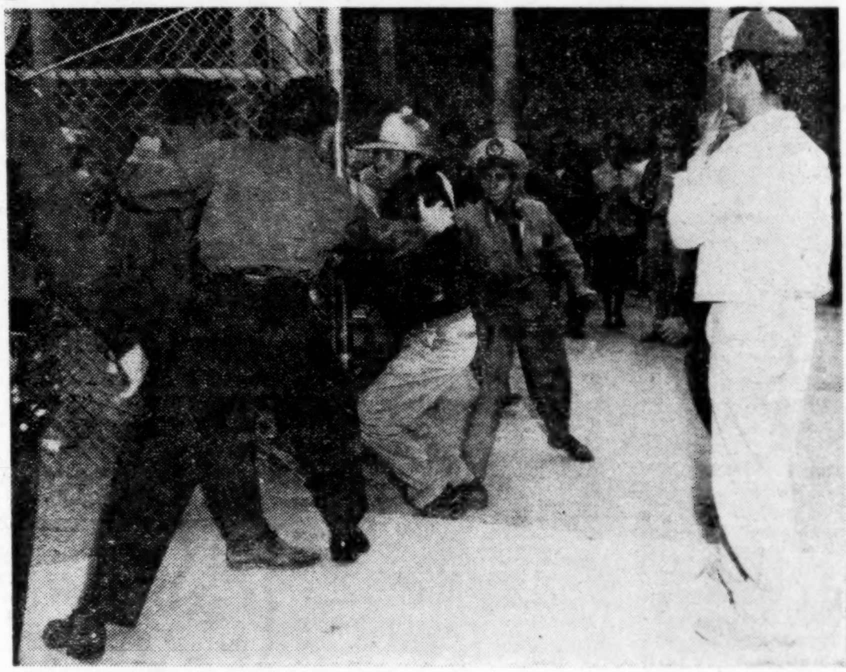
Coventry recognizes nakedness when it sees it; and its city council last spring voted 32-15 to end all "civil defense" against nuclear bombs because no such thing does or can exist. Instead, Coventry formed a Coventry-Stalingrad Bond of Friendship Committee which invited the Soviet city to join in "positive action" to see the bombs were never used.

Like the little boy in the Hans Andersen tale **The Emperor's New Clothes,** Coventry saw that the king "Civil Defense" was naked. Instead of blueprints, charts, prognostications or any variety of hit-the-dirt or hit-the-road program, Coventry stands before the Western world demanding that it look at the facts and take the simple, commonsense way out: peaceful co-existence with a country that has shown in a thousand ways that it has no desire, intention or interest to drop bombs on anyone.

THE ROUNDUP OF MIGRANT MEXICAN WORKERS

Brownell's 'Operation Terror' in California

By Ione Kramer



This is what was happening to the Mexican migrant workers (braceros) six months ago. When the Mexico-U. S. labor contract expired in January, Mexico refused to let its workers cross the border, but recruiters for the Southwest's big growers, given a free hand by the U. S., encouraged braceros to jump the border. The picture shows a worker being pulled back into Mexico by Mexican police while someone from the U. S. tries to pull him this side of the border. Immigration and Labor Dept. buses (photo on the left) carried workers to U. S. farms. Now buses go the other way since current U. S. policy is to "round up" all illegal migrant workers and deport tens of thousands.

AT DAWN on June 17, 700 U. S. Immigration & Naturalization officers from all over the U. S. swooped down on California's Mexican communities in "Operation Wetback*"—"the biggest offensive against Mexican laborers in history," in the words of Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell.

Their orders were to "ferret out" and deport tens of thousands of Mexicans, workers who cross the border every year lured by promises of high pay in the fields of California and the Southwest. Heading the drive under Brownell's personal order was newly-appointed I & N Commissioner Lt. Gen. Joseph M. Swing (ret.). Known as a "professional Mexican-hater," Swing served with the "punitive" expedition which kept U. S. troops on Mexican soil during 1916-17. He commanded the 6th Army in Korea.

"Task forces" with radio-equipped cars, jeeps and trucks, aided by observers in small planes, "combed" the countryside. All who looked Mexican, including many U. S. citizens of Mexican descent, were run down on roads and fields and taken into custody. In door-to-door searches in Los Angeles, heads of families were taken from their beds; workers were seized as they went to jobs in factories. Prisoners were herded into an abandoned youth camp in downtown Los Angeles' Elysian Park.

After questioning they were hustled aboard bus convoys and driven 400 miles to Nogales, Ariz., where they were packed into armed trains to be dumped hundreds of miles inside Mexico—without resources, a chance to collect back pay or to inform their families. A worker near Fresno and another near Tracy were reported killed by pursuers in the "hunt."

PURITAN ECHOES: The drive "netted" 2,000 aliens the first day, 21,000 between that Thursday and the following Tuesday. Asked how his officials could tell an illegal alien from a citizen or a legal contract worker, Bruce Berber, San Francisco Immigration Service director, said his "boys" knew a citizen "if he speaks good English and looks like an American." Did any of the individuals ask for deportation hearings? Berber replied:

> "Very few — only someone who would want a hearing would be somebody who wanted publicity — probably a Communist."

Protests were widespread; some of the angriest came from the influential Community Service Organization, led by Democratic Lt. Governor candidate Edward R. Roybal, which represents thousands of Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles and the Mexican Chamber of Commerce. The L. A. **Daily Mirror** editorialized June 19:

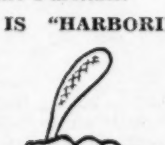
> "Illegal immigrants cannot be called criminal [but are persons] who want to work for a living wage and as a rule are hard workers. Influx of labor from Mexico, legal and illegal, will be a problem for a long time to come. It won't be resolved by occasional drives such as Operation Wetback."

George E. Brown of Norco wrote to the L. A. **Times**:

> "The Atlantic Ocean wetbacks—the Puritans—must have felt very guilty at sneaking in without visas from the Indians. Ironically, the blood kin of the same Indians are now being chased out by the kin of the same Puritans."

HELPING IS "HARBORING": The L. A. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born kept its headquarters open day and night to help stranded families. The Lawyers Guild offered legal aid. In an open letter to Atty. Gen. Brownell the CPFB called for an end to the mass round-up, to "private questionings without benefit of counsel, illegal searches and seizures, arrests without warrants, imprisonments without bail and mass deportations."

But organizations going to the Immigration Service to protest were told it was their duty to inform on persons who might be illegal aliens. A phone call, allegedly from the Immigration Service, informed the CPFB that if they didn't contact the Service immediately upon the arrival of Mexicans at their office, they would be subject to prosecution for "harboring."



"PREVAILING WAGE": To some it seemed a publicity build-up for two bills, outlawing transportation and hiring of alien non-contract workers, which Sen. Watkins (R-Utah) introduced in Congress on June 25, at the height of the drive, and probably too late for passage. The Joint U. S.-Mexican Trade Union Committee charged that in planning the bills, Brownell had listened "to the politically potent big growers," including Nixon-Knowland supporter Gov. Shivers of Texas.

Many of the rounded-up aliens had entered without contract between January and March of this year, when the U. S. encouraged growers to recruit non-contract workers while pressuring Mexico to accept its terms for the new contract labor treaty. Mexico wanted to approve the wage-scale paid its contract workers, but had to accept an agreement for them to get the "prevailing wage." The Trade Union Comm. says this is usually the employer's first offer—not a protection for Mexican or American workers. Contract wages may average 60c an hour; non-contract, as low as 15c.

TERROR BY NIGHT: After the publicity died down, it developed that the "drive" had deported fewer illegal workers (55,000 in June in Calif.) than earlier when the job was done quietly (85,000 were deported in April in the Southwest.) Observers agreed that the "drive" did not solve the Mexicans' basic problem of poverty at home, glowing promises of high pay from recruiters for the big U. S. truck and fruit estates. But it did call the attention of two nations to the methods of the U. S. Immigration Service under a Brownell regime.

To the President and the Atty. General, well-known Los Angeles immigration atty. Josef Widoff cited cases of his clients. One man who had resided in L. A. for two years, and elsewhere in the U. S., called Widoff to represent him at 3 a.m., but before Widoff could get to him at 8 a.m. he had been shipped to Mexico. Another—a U. S. citizen and Mexican Chamber of Commerce member—filed an affidavit that Immigration men entered a restaurant he owned three times without a warrant, took his employes into custody before they had a chance to draw their pay, took customers before they paid for their meals. Another affidavit filed with L. A. Dist. Immigration Director Herman Landon told of agents invading a private home at 4 a.m., flashing a light in the bedroom and terrifying the occupants. Widoff charged:

> "All constitutional rights have been suspended in California. . . . No person of Mexican descent in California or surrounding areas is safe or secure. . . . A condition prevails here that is tantamount to martial law and . . . no person has any guarantee that he can obtain a hearing under legal process to determine whether or not he has any rights to remain in the U. S. . . . Only in war have the constitutional rights of people been so suspended. There is no guarantee that attacks, begun against Latin-Americans, cannot be repeated . . . against all Americans."

WANTED—SPONSORS FOR JUSTICE: At a protest meeting July 16, the CPFB demanded an investigation of the Immigration Dept.'s methods. Earlier they had issued a "Bill in Search of Legislative Sponsors" including their recommendations for amending the Walter-McCarran immigration act with regard to Mexican citizens. They urge permanent residence status for persons with one or more U. S.-born children, for U. S. residents of two or more years who are integrated into community life, for contract laborers employed in the U. S. for five or more years; that the burden of proof of illegal presence be on the government; full information of the particulars to the accused person; reasonable bail; no deportation without notice and hearing.

McCARRAN
ACT

Immigration officials said the California drive was only a beginning. Last month "Operation Terror" had struck New Mexico, Arizona and Texas.

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* A derisive and offensive term used by the U. S. government and press for Mexicans entering without proper documents.

'We are only human . . .'

The following letter was written to the Chicago Housing Authority by a 19-year-old Phillips High School senior:

". . . Our condition is a critical one. All seven of us are penned into a dingy 2-room kitchenette apartment in the —— Hotel. Five of us sleep in one room. In order to study with any degree of quiet, we have to take turns sitting in the toilet. Living conditions, especially for the younger children, are terrible here because of the theft, prostitution, and other criminal activities which operate with apparent openness in this building. The building itself is a horrible firetrap.

"We have searched everywhere for a decent place to live. Hardly anyone will consider renting to us because of the number of children in the family. On rare occasions when we do find a landlord with a vacancy, the rent is so exorbitantly high that we could never pay it.

"My oldest sister and I have helped my mother all we could with the care and supervision of our younger sisters and brothers and have pledged to continue to do so. . . . It is a herculean task to maintain good standards of conduct, plant a sense of decency, good morals and good citizenship in the younger children when we are in such a cesspool and hell-hole. . . . We are fighting to maintain our decency and self-respect and especially to give my younger sisters and brother a chance to grow up in clean environment. This we believe to be a part of the American heritage. . . . We are only human. How can we fight single-handed against these conditions? Evenings, I must always be on hand to guide my sisters in and out of the building. Already 'friendly' neighbors have tried to teach my five-year-old brother to steal. . . ."

Three poets with faith in the future of man

Our dr.ams have stopped
being birds.
They're learning not to fly.

SO writes Aaron Kramer in the first of 24 stanzas of his long poem "The Minotaur," clocking the hours—the dreary hours glinting nevertheless with tough threads of beauty and hope—of an American worker's day. Kramer is a minstrel who weaves his ballads of these bitter American days with simple skill and quiet irony out of folklore and factory whistles, jukeboxes and fairy-tales; and who challenges his America—which is his not as much as it is any other American's, but a little more because he sees it as it is—to stop him loving it and its people. The other long poem in this new collection* by Kramer, whose work steadily matures in craftsmanship and insight, is the allegory "The Tinderbox" based on Andersen's story and dedicated to the triumphant nuptials of beauty and the common people over the prostrate body of tyranny and war.

A worker himself, Kramer has fixed as deep in his heart as the California poet Hugh Hardyman the conviction that the people will "rise up from your knees and roll the forbidden drums"—or as Hardyman says it in his 12-poem pamphlet**:

Truth will revive the people drugged with lies;
They will stand up with anger in their eyes.

CRIME—POETRY: Another reminder, but in a more passionate key, that American poets have not forgotten how to use their craft as a sword against hypocrites and Hitlers comes from Walter Lowenfels in **The Prisoners: Poems for Amnesty*****—a collection of 12 short, blazing poems with a "Credo" in prose and a tribute to Lowenfels by Louis Aragon. Looking back over a ¼ century of living and writing from Paris to Philadelphia, Lowenfels pours his scorn on the notion that the government can "cut the baby in half" by pretending it only arrested and tried him, with other Smith Act victims, as the editor of the **Daily Worker**'s Pennsylvania edition.

The true mentality of the government must be measured by the fact that it jails poets—"poetry is my 'crime'"—for "conspiracy to advocate violent overthrow." He insists that "peace itself—respect for the rights of others—is the poem of our time." His poems dedicated to fellow-"overthrow-advocacy-conspirators" Eugene Dennis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Ben Davis, Steve Nelson and Claudia Jones are a re-kindling of the fire of defiance in the eyes of David facing Goliath, of John Brown facing the slaveholders.

C. B.

* *ROLL THE FORBIDDEN DRUMS! by Aaron Kramer. Cameron & Kahn, 109 Greenwich Av., N. Y. C.; 64 pp., cloth $2, paper $1.*

** *TOWARD LIBERATION by Hugh Hardyman (Box 193, Rt. 1, Topanga, Calif.); pamphlet, $1 for 50.*

*** *THE PRISONERS, by Walter Lowenfels. Whittier Press, PO Box 5405, Kingsessing Sta., Phila. 43; 28 pp., $1.*

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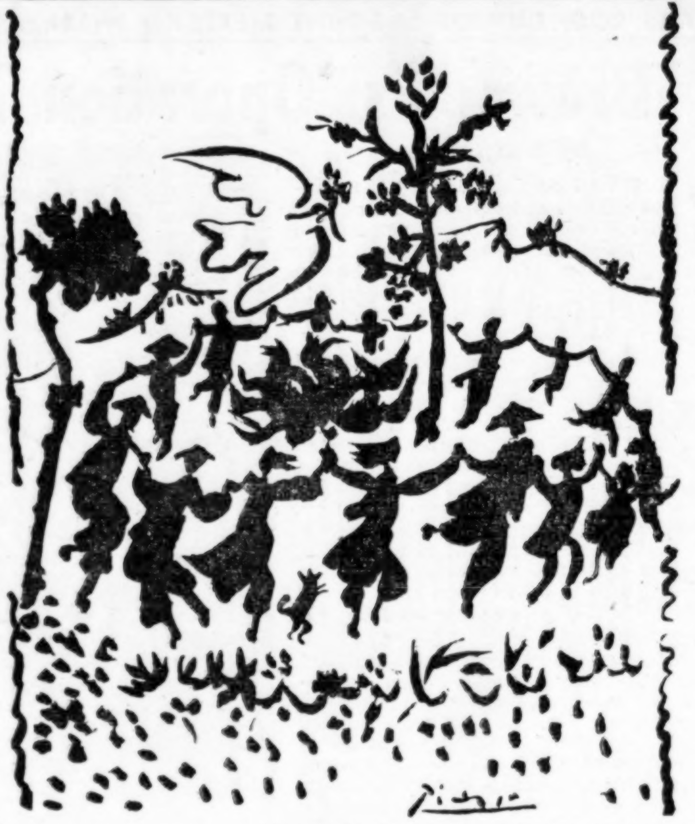

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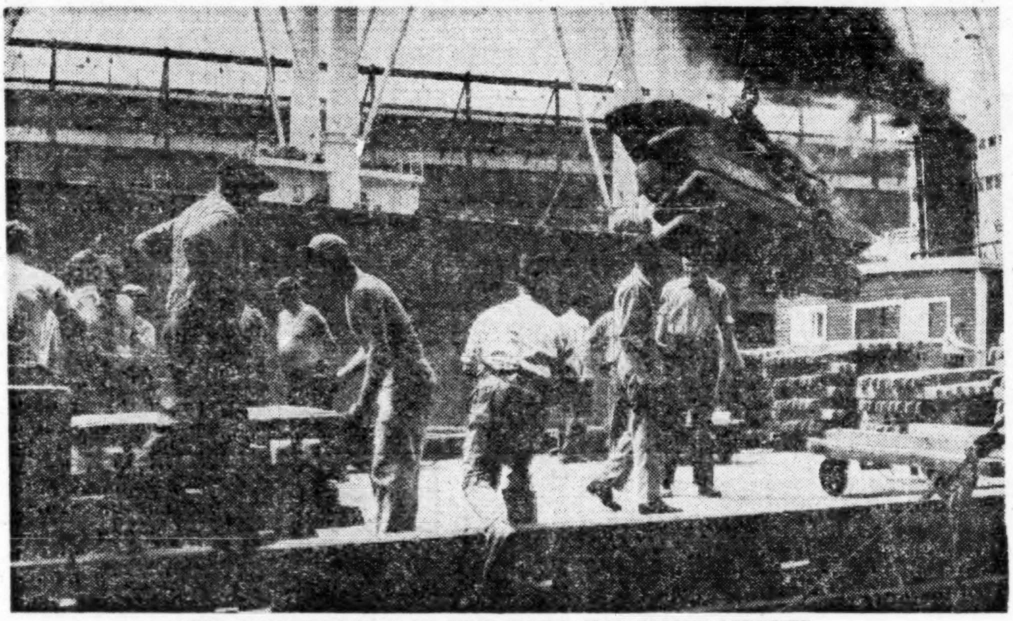

THE WATERFRONT IN NEW YORK HAS MANY ASPECTS
Longshoremen are sticking with the union.

A SCENE FROM COLUMBIA'S WATERFRONT FILM
The movie's way out: martyrdom

NEW YORK

On the Waterfront: How the movies see it — and how it is in the flesh-and-blood

By Elmer Bendiner

THE bleak dockside of Hoboken, the cold-water flats of its longshoremen, the seamlness of its bars were flashed accurately on wide screens throughout the country last week in Columbia's movie, **On the Waterfront.**

The settings were there but the longshoremen and their families were not. Though writer Budd Schulberg credited a news expose with inspiration for the story, the living history of the waterfront was neatly scissored out, the meaning of labor news twisted to fit a gang-busting formula which may be twisted still further into a union-busting formula.

CLINICAL CHARACTERS: This is the waterfront as Schulberg and director Elia Kazan see it: The longshoremen, intimidated by union leaders into a state known in the Hollywood-Hoboken argot as "D and D" (Deaf and Dumb), submit sheep-like to the shake-down, the kick-back, enforced loans at usurious interest, the daily scramble for jobs at a degrading shape-up. Schulberg's longshoremen are beaten, spineless characters who lead curious family lives. A wedding scene takes place in a bar and strongly suggests both an orgy and a brawl. Terror-stricken longshore wives are glimpsed occasionally, children never.

When the movie-makers try to understand longshoremen they make them look like clinical specimens, so that it seems a man must come out of a broken home or a brutal orphanage to turn into a longshoreman.

REDEMPTION BY BLOOD: Into this underworld comes a tough, slangy, cigarette-smoking, brave young priest (Karl Malden) who puts enough spine into a few longshoremen to persuade them to appear before the State Crime Commission. The priest preaches that the way out is through personal martyrdom: courting death at the hand of gangsters by telling all to an omnipotent and benign commission.

He (with an assist from a pure young girl whose longshore brother was recently murdered) wins the soul of longshoreman Marlon Brando and persuades him to testify against his union bosses. He is thereupon beaten to a bloody pulp while the longshoremen uneasily stand by. In the mystic view of the movie-makers the beaten longshoremen must have this man's martyrdom as a symbol. Therefore, bleeding as from a crown of thorns, he must stagger as if on Calvary on to the piers so that the longshoremen may follow him and not their gang-boss leader.

Any similarity between this and the waterfront is not only coincidental but very unlikely.

10 SECONDS OF TRUTH: This lofty climax comes after stock gangland situations with squealers nailed to walls, careening cars, juggernaut trucks, flashy mobster-henchmen of dead-eye-dick toughness (Tony Galento, Tami Mauriello and Abe Simon were borrowed from the prize ring for sinister touches) and a love scene about as tender as rape.

There is one 10-second scene in which an obviously wealthy but unidentified man (his face is never seen) snaps off his TV set on which he has been viewing the crime commission hearings and tells his butler that hereafter when dockside boss Lee J. Cobb calls, he is out. The movie never reveals who he is.

Those 10 seconds suggest that the author knows where the body is buried but feels this is not the time to talk. Nowhere else in the movie is there even a hint that the shipowners maintained the gangsters in power (as revealed in the State Crime Commission hearings); that politicians and police courted the gangsters and used them, attended their banquets, helped finance them, applauded them for fighting "communism," broke up every real rank-and-file movement that threatened the gangsters.

MR. WHOZIS: In 1939 a real-life longshore leader named Pete Panto was murdered, not because he was about to give testimony as Marlon Brando does, but because he [illegible] rank-and-file revolt against the gangland bosses of the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. His body was found in a lime pit in Lyndhurst, N. J., in 1941. His killers were known to the staff of ex-Mayor William O'Dwyer when he served as Brooklyn District Atty., but the evidence was destroyed and the case quashed.

If the anonymous TV viewer in the movie resemble the rear view of an ex-Mayor, the touch is overly subtle.

THE REAL PROBLEMS: Whatever the gains achieved by informer-heroes, the waterfront in Hoboken and throughout the N. Y. port last week faced this grim set of problems, apparently unsusceptible to the Schulberg-Kazan formula: Almost two years after the crime commission (endowed in the film with divine righteousness) concluded its hearings, most of the gangsters remain at large and at work. To the problems of gangster domination has been added a graver threat: domination by politicians and a governmental straitjacketing of waterfront labor.

Following crime commission recommendations a bi-state waterfront commission has been given full powers to fingerprint and register longshoremen, deny militant workers their jobs, erect a state hiring-hall.

In two elections the longshoremen have bucked every instrumentality of city, state and national government, the press, the courts, the labor boards to assert with their ballots: "This is our union. We'll clean it up and keep it. We want a contract." (The shadows who haunt the movie's waterfront would be incapable of any such guts.) After each balloting a wide variety of monkey-wrenches has been tossed to frustrate the men's plain-spoken wishes. The first balloting was ruled invalid as soon as the results showed the ILA winning against an American Fedn. of Labor raiding party.

ENDLESSLY COUNTING: Last week the Natl. Labor Relations Board, faced with a second vote in favor of the ILA, was seeing how many men it could disfranchise so as to tip the scales in favor of the AFL. The board examined 654 challenged ballots and found 297 for the ILA, 352 for the AFL. This made the count 9,407-9,144 for the ILA. There are still 1,097 contested ballots to be counted and most of these admittedly are for the ILA, but the AFL has insisted the men are ineligible because they work as hatch bosses. These have always been counted as union men until now; they have no hiring or firing function, usually the criterion for supervisory status.

There seemed little likelihood that the board would complete its count before the fall. Meanwhile the longshoremen have been denied a contract, the pay raise they demand and urgently need, or any other fundamental reforms.

The AFL, which originally assumed the crusader's armor which the movie makers wear, resorted to picket-line crossing, and scab hiring. They worked closely with Gov. Dewey and avoided any challenge to the regimentation scheme.

MONEY NO OBJECT: Last week the raiding party, which until then had unsucessfully tried to appropriate the name of the ILA (tarnished as it was), organized itself officially in its first convention as the AFL Intl. Brotherhood of Longshoremen. AFL pres. George Meany told the Chicago convention the AFL had already spent $1 million dollars on the raid and was prepared to spend more. There was still no mention of Dewey, fingerprinting or strikebreaking.

Marlon Brando's longshoreman was eloquent on gang-busting but one wonders where he stands on union-busting and Gov. Dewey. Until that is made clear it is doubtful that many longshoremen will follow him, with or without the crown of thorns, either on to the docks or into the movie houses.

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PROTESTS IGNORED

Rhee yells for war, gets city's honors

DR. SYNGMAN RHEE spent two days in New York calling for war now and on a colossal scale, unashamedly complaining that the war that devastated his native Korea had not been long enough. He was given a hero's honors.

He rode up Broadway in an open car through a light drizzle and confetti rained down on him. On the steps of City Hall Mayor Wagner handed him the city's Medal of Honor and a scroll which called him the "world's symbol of resistance to savage aggression."

The Mayor had received a number of pleas to cancel the planned honors to Rhee, among them one from Morris Goldin, exec. secy. of the American Labor Party.

The Mayor ignored all such protests and at a luncheon in the Waldorf-Astoria asked New Yorkers instead to "look . . . upon the dedication, the devotion and the love for freedom which are the fibre and soul of our guest of honor."

In the afternoon Rhee went to Columbia University where he put on a cap and gown, received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree and heard himself called "indomitable leader . . . scholar and statesman." (Teachers and students were among the first victims of Rhee's police state.)

He responded to all toasts by asking the U. S. to go war "soon." In the evening the American-Korean Foundation tendered him a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria which the N. Y. Times said was "marred by several dozen pickets who shouted and distributed anti-Rhee material."

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WASHINGTON

Brownell bills in balance; whitewash job on McCarthy

THE nation faced a critical two weeks with the majority of Americans seemingly hypnotized by the axe poised above them. By the middle of this month Congress will have passed the most dangerous of the Brownell bills, undercutting the country's fundamental freedoms, or by adjournment will have given the nation a reprieve.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has already reported these bills out and ready for action:

- The Butler-McCarran-Ferguson bill to brand any organization as "communist-dominated" if any of its leaders was ever a "communist." All organizations so branded would have to display the brand on all literature; unions affected would be denied all bargaining rights.
- The blacklist bill denying jobs in most industries to anyone the Atty. Gen. might list as a "potential" subversive.
- The anti-citizenship bill stripping native-born and naturalized citizens of all rights if convicted under the Smith Act. (Already passed by the House.)
- The harboring bill increasing penalties up to five years' imprisonment and $5,000 fine for sheltering fugitives.

REST OF THE PACKAGE: The way has also been cleared for action on bills making bail-jumping a felony, and requiring those registered as foreign agents to identify their status on all literature and public statements.

Demonstration

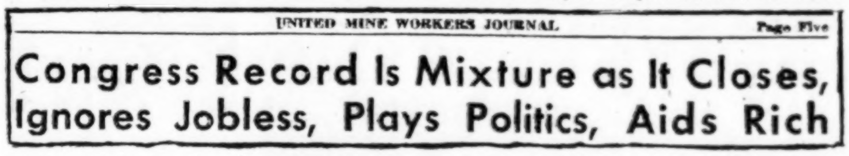
THIRTY grave Russian students are visiting this country at the invitation of the Natl. Union of Students, who have hoped to demonstrate that Communist propaganda about Britain is grossly distorted.

The Russians came in by air to the R. A. F. station of Bovingdon, which also happens to be the customary point of arrival for the American Air Force.

As the Russians alighted, they were confronted by a huge disastrous notice: "THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE WELCOMES YOU TO BRITAIN."

The Observer, London, July 24, 1954

The Senate Judiciary Committee is still working over the immunity bill, which would destroy the Fifth Amendment and force witnesses to testify before witch-hunting committees or grand juries by the expedient of granting them "immunity." The Senate had already passed a bill giving committees the right to grant "immunity" but the Administration is trying to force through a version giving Atty. Gen. Brownell the authority. The House is ready to take action this week.



UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL Page Five

Congress Record Is Mixture as It Closes, Ignores Jobless, Plays Politics, Aids Rich

The bill to legalize wiretaps as evidence, now bottled in the Judiciary Committee, was given less chance for passage.

"A FAMILIAR RING": The Constitution had some defenders. In Congress last week Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) said of the Fifth Amendment which is under heaviest fire from witch-hunters:

> "It grew out of the inquisitions and tortures visited by the English authorities of the 17th Century upon religious dissenters. . . . Do false confessions induced by torture, refined or otherwise, have a familiar ring these days?"

The **Advance** (8/1), organ of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, called Brownell's bills affecting labor "weapons of a police state"; deplored "the all-time low in the political morality of this country"; warned: "Such a political climate may very well destroy every one of our liberties and they may never be restored."

"WE WON'T DIE EASY": CIO and AFL leaders generally talked out against the Brownell bills but backed a Democratic move in the House for a commission to "study" subversion in labor. The independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union commented on this "compromise" in their paper the **Dispatcher**:

> "It's a phony. The politicians of labor, it seems, are not too much different from other politicians. If they can feather their own nest by kicking their rank and file into line that's just dandy. What they said in effect when they proposed that business about a commission to study alleged subversion in industry was this: 'Look, don't pass a law that might embarrass us—just pass one that will get unions like the damn rank-and-file controlled unions out of our hair.' That's us, the ILWU. . . . Well, maybe Brownell and the politicians of his ilk and the labor fakirs think they can put us out of business. . . . Maybe they can. But we like to think and we do think that before they do they will know they have had one hell of a fight. We won't die easy."

THE LAST HOPE: Clark Foreman, secy. of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which testified against the immunity bill before the House Judiciary committee, sent out an "urgent memorandum" on letters to Washington:

> "The only hope is that you and others will be able to persuade your Congressman to stand against this infringement of the Constitution. In an election year Congressmen are likely to heed letters from their constituents. They will be loath to face the accusation in the coming campaign that they sold the American Constitution short, no matter on what hysterical pretext."

Editor and Publisher (7/31) took up the fight against the bill requiring "subversives" to register printing presses, calling it "another instance where our well-intentioned legislators are tearing down our bill of rights in order to fight the Communist menace."

Before **E & P** hit the stands, the President had signed the bill into law.

THE McCARTHY DUCK: As the Constitution went under the axe, the press reserved its headlines for Sen. Joseph McCarthy. For three days the Senate debated a motion of censure against McCarthy, proposed by Sen. **Flanders** (R-Vt.), bolstered by a lengthy bill of particulars from Sens. Fulbright (D-Ark.) and Morse (Ind-Ore.) Only a dozen outspokenly anti-McCarthy Senators were ready for the vote. The rest of the Senate tried in every conceivable way to duck. The GOP leadership was outspokenly disapproving. The Democratic leadership was described by the N. Y. **Times** as "completely inert" on the question.

'Cohn era' opens at Astor

Some 2,000 New Yorkers jammed the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Astor on July 28 to inaugurate "the beginning of the Roy Cohn era." The guests at the dinner sponsored by the Joint Committee Against Communism of New York noisily cheered Sen. McCarthy and guest of honor Cohn.

N. Y. veterans' groups showered plaques and awards on Cohn. Testimonials were offered by Archibald Roosevelt (son of Pres. Theodore Roosevelt), committee coordinator Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, columnists George Sokolsky and Fulton Lewis Jr., Municipal Court Justice Robert Morris, banker E. F. Hutton, several professors from Fordham and Notre Dame.

In protest, 200 pickets paraded outside. With 200 in and 2,000 out, the Cohn era would have seemed farther off.

A compromise designed to bury the matter was embodied in a proposal referring the matter to still another committee which would hold more hearings. (There has still been no word from the committee that spectacularly probed the McCarthy-Army controversy.) The matter might have been buried then and there if Sen. Ives (R-N. Y.) had not tacked on an amendment requiring the new committee to report back to the Senate this session.

"CONSUMMATE LIARS": The motion passed 75-12. Under its terms Vice-President Nixon will pick three Democrats and three Republicans, all presumably neutral on the McCarthy question, to conduct the hearings. McCarthy promised to enliven those sessions by referring to Sen. Fulbright as "Halfbright" and assuring "the American people that the Senators who have made the charges will either indict themselves for perjury or they will prove what consummate liars they are. . . ."

The country seemed headed for another sleigh-ride while Brownell's storm clouds gathered.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

SUNDAY, AUG. 8, at 8:30 p.m. Irving Adler, author of "The Secret of Light," speaks on "This Atomic Age," one of A. S. P.'s stimulating **SUNDAY STARLIGHT FORUMS**, Penthouse 10A, 59 W. 71st St.

FORUM

George Blake Charney
Executive Secretary N. Y. C. P.
Will lecture on **"YOUTH AND THE '54 ELECTIONS,"** Fri., Aug. 13, at 8 p.m. 77 5th Av. (15-16 Sts.) 2nd Floor. Cont. 60c. Ausp: N. Y. Student Division, L. Y. L.

REMINDER! YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM presents Dr. Joseph B. Furst, in a discussion of "The Neurotic: His Inner and Outer World." Wed., Aug. 11, 8:30 p.m. Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86th St. Contribution: 75c. Members: 65c.

AIR COOLED
Sat., Aug. 7: "HARVEY"
James Stewart in the hilarious comedy about a 6 ft. rabbit that wasn't there.
Sat., Aug. 14: "QUARTET"
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Eagle from "Kingdom of the Waters," Hungarian color documentary at the Stanley with "Caspian Story," Soviet film.

"CONFIDENTIAL"

Summer camp probers on lark

THE state legislature's joint committee to investigate "subversion in summer camps" got down to work briskly July 28 at the Dune Deck on fashionable Westhampton Beach, L.I. All the committee's members, many of their wives and children, their secretaries and aides trooped out to the exclusive resort (the state pays expenses). When asked why the committee was not meeting at its offices, 165 Broadway, chairman Sen. Bernard Tomkins (R-Queens) said it was because of the committee's "confidential nature."

The legislators' families owe their holiday to Gov. Dewey's request that the group, which up to now had been investigating rackets in philanthropies, go witch-hunting in "summer session subversion."

In a two-day cool and confidential session the committee said it had succeeded in "filling in" all hands and designating Jacob J. Rosenblum as its counsel. Though it started as a junket the probe may endanger some of the state's finest inter-racial camps.

IN 24TH CD

Gurley Flynn runs in Bronx for Congress

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN opened her campaign for Congress last week in the Bronx's 24th CD. Though a member of the Communist Party's national committee she will run as an independent.

Convicted as one of the original Smith Act victims and free on $25,000 bail, Miss Flynn has a 48-year record of fighting labor's causes dating from the textile strikes before World War I. She was active in the defense campaigns of Sacco-Vanzetti and Tom Mooney, helped organize in a dozen trade union fields and was a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Keynoting her drive she assailed the "preventive war doctrine" and said: "I shall speak against the McCarthyite big lie—the hoax of a so-called Communist menace. I shall speak for amnesty for the imprisoned Communist leaders and other political prisoners. I shall work for an end to the whole witch-hunt against left-wingers, trade unionists, Negro leaders, New Dealers and all those who differ with the Cadillac cabinet on domestic and foreign policy. I shall fight for the repeal of the McCarran-Walter Act, the Taft-Hartley law and for a return to the Bill of Rights."

Independent nominating petitions for Miss Flynn were circulated in the district last week.

•

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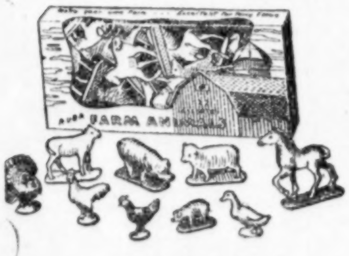

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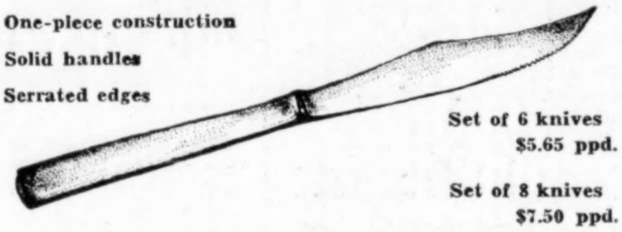

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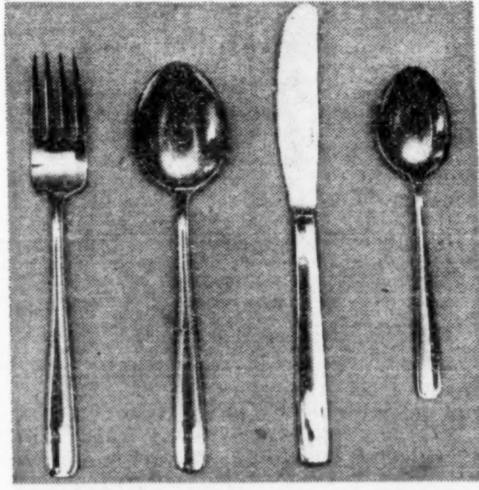

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CHARLIE CHAPLIN SPEAKS

Of the spirit of man

(Continued from Page 2)

> "I am not a politician. I have no political activities. No political affiliation either. I am an artist, an individualist, perhaps what they call a liberal.
>
> "But I know perfectly that the direction being given to the world is crazy, for it can lead only to general war or to corruption of the human spirit.
>
> "If we want to avoid an irreparable catastrophe, we must try to understand the problems dividing the nations. We must negotiate. We must find the terms of a compromise allowing every people to live in its own way, and every man to recover his dignity and the feeling of his solidarity with all his fellows."

Later, during a talk with the Soviet film director Sergei Guerassimov, Chaplin insisted on this theme of understanding, on the need for agreement:

> "I know that we are witnessing a process of evolution which cannot stop. I think that the problems which this evolution creates for the Western countries are very complex from the economic point of view and give rise to real difficulties for France, Britain and the other western countries. The Soviet Union must give public opinion further proof of its desire to help solve these problems."

WE HAD COME to Manoir du Ban, on the shores of Lake Geneva, to present Charles Chaplin with the International Peace Prize—Vercors, Dr. Richard Synge (Nobel Prize for chemistry), the eminent Hellenist Andre Bonnard, Guerassimov (thrice awarded the Stalin Prize for his films) and the secretary of the International Peace Prize Jury.

We came to bear witness to him of the love of millions of men to whom for 45 years through his so human work he has given solace, joy and hope.

The trees in the park—one of them famous for its shade—were waving their green, copper or purple leaves in the late spring sun. Into my mind came the closing speech from **The Great Dictator:**

> "I say to those who can hear me, do not despair. The evil that has befallen us is only the result of the greed and bitterness of men who fear human progress. The hatred of men will pass, and the dictators will perish. And the power they usurped will return to the peoples. . . .
>
> "Soldiers, do not make a gift of yourselves to these brutes . . . who starve you and drive you like cattle before using you for cannon-fodder.
>
> "Soldiers, you are not machines, you are not cattle. You are men. You bear the love of mankind in your hearts. Be without hatred. Only those whom no one loves can hate, those who are not loved, and the abnormal.
>
> "Soldiers! Do not fight for slavery! Fight for freedom; you, the people, have the power to create a free and splendid life, to make life a radiant adventure."

True to himself, the words spoken by Chaplin today correspond exactly to the spirit of that speech and express the same feeling as his pantomine in **Shoulder Arms.**

Replying to the fervent remarks of Vercors, Chaplin said, "We must undertake to return to what is natural and healthy in man, to the spirit of good will which is the basis of all inspiration, of all that is creative, good and noble in life."

CHAPLIN IS OPEN to easy approach. In his clear eyes shines a flame of curiosity and gaiety. He gives himself to conversation as a swimmer to the sea.

On my first visit he had the great generosity to tell me about the film he is working on at the moment. This film concerns the adventurer who was dethroned for wanting to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes instead of making bombs.

In what was perhaps also the moment of creation, he mimicked a whole scene and, gripped entirely in his work, read a fragment of it to me. Using the stances, gestures and words of a half-dozen public school pupils, Chaplin has constructed one of the most original and penetrating satires ever written on modern life. That scene may turn out to be one of the great moments of Chaplin's creativeness.

The effort that goes into the making of one of his films is well known. He always uses his own ideas, his own script, his own music. He told me:

> "To make a film, I have to create a whole world, within which the expression of my ideas will be quite logical. Every detail in the set, every development of the plot, every word and note of music must go together to create the atmosphere, the world in which my ideas can be expressed freely, spontaneously and logically."

It is in that world of his own, created piece by piece, that Chaplin can reach that perfect union between truth and poetry which is one of the secrets of his genius.

Among his works, the great artist seems to prefer **Limelight, Modern Times** and **City Lights.** He thinks his most perfect comic scene is in **The Count** (1916) where his declaration of love is hampered by the sonorous gluttony of his neighbour at the table. At the memory of this gag, Chaplin seemed to regret the particular difficulties of the silent film.

Hundreds of millions of us share our love for that Little Man, and our admiration for the genius who could give us **The Great Dictator, Monsieur Verdoux,** and **Limelight.** To meet him personally is a genuine privilege. It is then that one can truly feel that the poet, the mimic and the thinker living in Chaplin are fed from one heart, the heart of a friend of man.